A STUDY OF THE GREEK LOVE-NAMES

BY

EDWARD J. FLUCK

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to the Board of University Studies of The Johns Hopkins University in Conformity with the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

1934

(Extract from Volume XXIII of The Johns Hopkins Studies in Archaeology: David M. Robinson and Edward J. Fluck, *A Study of the Greek Love-Names including a Discussion of Paederasty and a Prosopographia*)

BALTIMORE

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PREFACE

The *kalos* inscriptions, or so-called "love-names," on Attic vases are derived from the usual phrase *ho pais kalos*[1] on these vases and in Greek literature. There are countless instances of the writing of the formula *ho pais kalos* and fewer of the feminine *he pais kale.* The love-names are formed by the addition of the adjective *kalos* to a proper-name (which can often be identified with some historical person of the period). Sometimes the bare adjective is strengthened by a ναίχι, or a κάρτα (Klein, *Die Griechischen Vasen mit Lieblingsinschriften,* p. 37, no. 1), or νὴ Δία (cf. Theognis kalos, Chapter IV, no. 265 below), or it is put in the superlative κάλλιστος (cf. Chapter IV, nos. 22 and 118 below). The expression ὁ δεῖνα καλὸς δοκεῖ is sometimes found (cf. Andokides kalos *sub* Meletos, Chapter IV, no. 169). There is a variation on this form of "So-and-so seemed fair to So-and-so" in the inscription ὁ δεῖνα καλὸς βένεται = φαίνεται (Graef-Langlotz, *Die Antiken Vasen von der Akropolis,* II, 1, p. 21, no. 256). This last form suggests that *ho pais kalos* often is equal to *eromenos* for the *erastes* who either wrote it himself or had it written; i. e. that the "beloved" seemed "fair" to the "lover." From this connotation, which will be developed later, and from the German word *Lieblingsnamen* for these inscriptions comes our English "love-name." Several times the patronymic, or father's name, is added to the love-name (cf. Glaukon kalos and Diphilos, nos. 104 and 72 in Chapter IV).

The material on the subject is divided in the following fashion. Chapter I contains an account of the *kalos* inscriptions on vases, their position, significance, and value to archaeology. Chapter II covers the lexicography of *kalos,*

[1] "The boy is beautiful." A score of labels in the Metropolitan Museum (1936) wrongly translated this as "the handsome youth." That would require ὁ καλὸς παῖς or ὁ παῖς ὁ καλός.

especially where it relates to the vases in helping to interpret and understand the conditions which led to the use of the inscription on those vases. From this point onwards the monograph lists and tries to suggest identifications, wherever possible, for all names found in connection with *kalos*. Chapter III discusses all these names known through literature or other arts, and Chapter IV attempts a comprehensive cataloguing of all the names on Attic vases. A brief appendix is added, containing the few *kalos* inscriptions which occur on non-Attic vases, principally Boeotian.

David M. Robinson
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The Johns Hopkins University,
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A STUDY OF THE GREEK LOVE-NAMES

CHAPTER I

THE LOVE-NAMES ON ATTIC VASES

In 1898 when Klein's work, *Die Griechischen Vasen mit Lieblingsinschriften,* appeared, there were five hundred and fifty-eight vases known with *kalos* inscriptions. The author counted two hundred and twenty proper-names used with *kalos* or *kale* on these vases, which he distributed among twenty-three known painters and an indefinite number of unknown artists. He also noticed that on vases of the black-figured style "love-names" fall far behind artists' signatures in frequency. This would not be so apparent, however, if the exact opposite were not true for the red-figured period, when the *kalos* inscription begins to occupy the field, and is much more common than the artist's signature.

The vases with this type of inscription extend from the period of Taleides [1] and Exekias,[2] who first, probably under the influence of certain popular and contemporary poets, transferred this formula, *ho pais kalos,* to vases, through to the last quarter of the fifth century. Since only thirty of the two hundred and twenty names which Klein counted are those of women, and these are always names of hetairai and coined

[1] Taleides, Timagoras, Exekias, and Amasis, whose earliest work dated from the middle of the sixth century, all use love-names. Taleides uses those of Neokleides and Kleitarchos, both of which were known to Klein.

[2] Exekias praised Stesias on his earliest vases (Hoppin, *Handb. B. F. Vases,* pp. 100, 108), and changed his affection to Onetorides on his later and better vases (Hoppin, *op. cit.,* pp. 92, 106, 109, 111; Furtwaengler-Reichhold, *Gr. Vasenmalerei,* pls. 131-132). Cf. Beazley, *Attic Black-Figure,* pp. 17-21, 29-31; Technau, *Exekias,* pp. 8, 15.

to refer to the trade (as Pantoxena, Xenodoke, etc.), our studies in identification will be mostly confined to the names of males, these being the more significant historically. Then, too, *ho pais kalos* and not *he pais kale* is really the *raison d'être* of the movement; this will be made clear later.

Several of Klein's names are questionably included in a list of this type, and a few have been proved definitely out of place. Such are *prosagoreuo* (which is now correctly understood not as a proper name, but as a *Schlagwort* or "catchword," like the frequent "χαῖρε," and so meaning "greetings") and *Paidikos,* which has been interpreted as the name of a "favourite," the name of a painter, or even as equivalent to the plural *paidika,* relative to the amatory habits of youths. But Pottier [3] has published an alabastron in the Louvre [4] with the inscription Παιδικὸς ἐποίησεν, and this proves that, though the name is to be stricken out of Klein's list of *Lieblingsnamen,* it is not a general expression for *eromenos* or *paidika* as Studniczka suggested,[5] but must be considered as a potter's signature (its adjectival quality is no more astonishing than that of the names of two other known painters, Smikros and Olympikos).

The love-name has come to be of great importance in classifying the work of anonymous painters, who, not having signed their vases, are known only by their styles and by the names of the boys with which they adorned their output. Such are, for instance, Beazley's Aischines-Painter (meaning the painter who thought that Aischines was "fair"), the Lysis-Painter, the Diogenes-Painter, the Epeleios-Master, etc. The names are most numerous on red-figured ware, for the history of which they are indispensable, as a whole group of vases is unsigned and says nothing about masters' identities, but a good deal about the boys who were pleasing these masters and in vogue with the people at the time.

The problem of whether we are to regard a love-name as

[3] *Rev. Ét. Gr.*, VI, 1893, p. 40.
[4] Hoppin, *Handb. R. F.*, II, p. 272.
[5] *Jahrb.*, II, 1887, p. 159, note 109.

belonging to a person who was a particular and private favourite of the painter, or to some youth whose reputation was city-wide, is much-disputed. In only a few cases can we be positive about the first theory: a black-figured hydria of Timagoras in praise of Andokides (see Meletos kalos, Chapter IV); a red-figured alabastron in the British Museum (p. 85) with the inscription: Ἀφροδισία καλή. τὼς (for οὕτως) δοκεῖ Εὐχ[ε]ίρῳ; and a tile from some building in Athens (see Hippeos, p. 57, no. 45, also p. 74, no. 7; p. 76, no. 12). In these cases the inscription reads that "so-and-so seemed fair to so-and-so-else," and the name of the *erastes* is that of a known potter. Furtwaengler, however, criticizes Hauser for assuming that this is the case with all the other love-names on Attic-vases, and says:[6] "Hauser betont besonders das persönliche Element bei den Lieblingsinschriften; er möchte die 'παῖδες' am liebsten als rein private Liebschaften der Vasenmaler ansehen. Er geht darin zu weit. Der Fall, dass ein Liebling bei mehreren Malern erscheint, ist doch zu oft bezeugt. Die 'παῖδες' werden gewiss die jeweils in der Palästra besonders bewunderten und beliebten Knaben gewesen sein, die in der Mode waren, und die jeder pries; die einzelnen Maler trafen unter diesen natürlich eine ihrem oder vielleicht auch ihrer Kunden Geschmack entsprechende Auswahl." That the admiration for a beautiful youth must often have been city-wide and not merely the personal feeling of a single individual is also attested by the multitude of his admirers in many cases, to which the *kalos* inscriptions bear witness.

Sometimes, it is true, the painters praised their own associates and professional competitors with a *kalos* inscription on their vases (see Epilykos kalos, Chapter IV, e. g.), but Studniczka[7] believes that generally these inscriptions are nothing less than expressions of the private feelings of their authors for their "etwaigen obscuren 'paidika'" or of the popularity which the bearers of those names enjoyed in Athens of the time. He continues: "Über den Kreis, aus welchem

[6] *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, XIV, 1894, p. 109: Review of Hartwig.
[7] *Jahrb.*, II, 1887, p. 159.

diese Namen vorwiegend gewählt wurden, lässt uns der hocharistokratische Klang von vielen sowie Darstellungen, wie die des schmucken jungen Hippeus Leagros in der Geryoneusschale des Euphronios, nicht im Zweifel [see plate I, 3]. . . . Im Kerameikos wurde 'allerhand Skandal an die Wände geschrieben.'" The Kerameikos was a show-place for all the mad pranks of Athens' *jeunesse dorée,*[8] and there is no doubt that many of the names on vases are those of the scions of high families, who sported about the potters' quarter. Identifications, perfectly agreeable in point of time, have been made to this effect of many of the names. Hoppin [9] thinks that many of these names may have been put on the vase to fill the order of the purchaser; in speaking of the Baltimore kylix with Χαιρίας καλός and a scene of an ephebe purchasing vases in a shop in the Kerameikos, he says: "that the name may have had something to do with the actual purchaser of the vase." He says further:[10] "Anyone who has examined a large number of Attic vases must have been struck by the fact that these names form no part of the original design or subject of the vase, and are added wherever the space permits, in a singularly haphazard fashion. Therefore it is by no means a fantastic theory if the inscriptions, especially those with *kalos,* were added to the vase after it was finished, to suit the individual taste of the purchaser." Miss Richter, *Red-Figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum,* p. xxx, well says: "the boy called 'handsome' was a favorite of the client or of the artist or was a universally acknowledged beauty." Apart from the obvious objection that Leagros, for instance, could never have ordered for himself or received, as gifts from others, all the vases (Klein counted 45) with his name, the second half of Hoppin's theory can also be criticized. Miss Richter [11] has thoroughly established the fact that "instead of the two, three, or four firings often assumed

[8] Meursius, *Ceramicus Geminus,* cap. 18, in Gronovs' Thesaurus, IV.
[9] *Euthymides and His Fellows,* p. 100.
[10] *Op. cit.,* p. 102.
[11] *The Craft of Athenian Pottery,* p. 108.

by archaeologists, the evidence points to only one fire, after total completion of the vase." This would invalidate the theory that painted inscriptions were added to suit the taste of the purchaser, unless, of course, he had confided that taste to the vase-maker before the vase was made. In the case of a vase with a popular name like Leagros or Glaukon or Memnon, it is probable that the vase-painters simply added the inscription themselves to the vase before its firing, knowing full well that the name of so popular a character about the city would make a "best seller" out of the vase. In the case of less renowned persons, we can assume that a vase with an inscription praising their beauty was made at the express order of a client. Incised inscriptions could have been put on either by the purchaser himself or, at his order, by the artisan for the boy he wanted to please. Miss Richter's belief, that the great majority of Athenian vases was made for actual use, not for votive, decorative, or funeral purposes, would also favor the theory that, when the love-names are not those of popular or well-known characters of the day, they must have been put on the vase at the command of the one ordering the vase (for his own, private "pretty boy"). When the inscription simply reads *ho pais kalos,* the problem disappears, and only the matter of the purpose of the inscription remains; for this we agree with Symonds' explanation [12]: "Another attention . . . from a lover to a boy was to have a vase or drinking-cup of baked clay made with a portrait of the youth depicted on its surface, attended by winged genii of health and love. The word 'fair' was inscribed beneath." [13] "C'est la porte ouverte au caprice," says Pottier neatly.[14]

The general purposes of these inscriptions have been summarized by Jahn,[15] who finds that a *kalos* inscription is either

[12] *A Problem in Greek Ethics,* 1901, p. 41.

[13] For vase illustrations of this, cf. Harrison, *Prolegomena,* figs. 171 and 172, pp. 636-637.

[14] *Mon. Piot,* IX, 1902, p. 168.

[15] *Die Vasensammlung zu Muenchen,* p. cxxvi. Cf. now Miss Richter, *Red-Figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art,* pp. xxix-xxx.

spoken by a person in the scene, or designates a person in the scene, or is an expression of the painter's own *paidika,* or was put on the vase to fill the order of a client who had a boy to please somewhere. *Kalos* inscriptions can and do sometimes refer to people represented on vases.[16] This is obvious on many vases with mythological subjects, for if a god or a hero is identifiable only through his attributes and *kalos* stands near, it must be taken as referring to him (*e. g.* Eros,[17] Perses,[18] Gelos,[19] Hektor,[20] Dionysos,[21] and Nestor[22]). The next step is one in which *kalos* can refer to unknown men on vases, as, for instance, when it is a jest on the picture of a Seilenos.[23] Often nothing interferes with the connection between picture and inscription, as on the unsigned Euphronios vase on which all the athletes are given names,[24] and on the red-figured bell-krater by the Kleophon Painter in Boston[25] with a sacrificial scene performed by a priest and three youths with another man watching. Beazley identifies the three youths and the man: Aresias, the man watching, as one of the Thirty Tyrants; Kallias as the son of Telokles and prosecuted for mutilating the herms; Mantitheos as one of the Hermokopids banished in 415; the name of the third youth Beazley restores tentatively as Hippokles and connects the name with that of one of the Ten. He finally puts the question: "Is it not possible that the Aresias, the Mantitheos, the Kallias, and the Hippokles are those who played a part in the politics of Athens during the last two decades of the fifth century?" (See further p. 122 *s. v.* Kallias). If so, they could no longer

[16] Langlotz, *Zeitbestimmung,* p. 45.

[17] Gerhard, *Ant. Bildw.,* 57.

[18] Panofka, *Mus. Blacas,* XI, 1.

[19] De Witte, *Cab. Durand,* nr. 65.

[20] Gerhard, *Auserl. Vasenb.,* III, 189.

[21] F. R., pl. 7.

[22] *Rev. Arch.,* II, pl. 40.

[23] *Arch. Zeit.,* XLIII, 1885, pl. 10; Beazley, *Attic Red-Figured Vases in American Museums,* p. 82, fig. 50 bis.

[24] Hoppin, *Euthymides,* pl. 20. "Leagros kalos" infibulates himself.

[25] Beazley, *op. cit.,* p. 182; *A. J. A.,* XXXIII, 1929, p. 366, no. 11.

have been so very young by the time of the vase, which dates in the fourth quarter of the century, but, as we shall shortly see, *kalos* inscriptions are not confined only to the youths and boys of Athens, though ὁ παῖς καλός without the mention of a name is very common. Sometimes ναί or ναίχι or κάρτα ("very") is added. Cf. index of Miss Richter, *Red-Figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, p. 241.

That the inscriptions can relate to persons pictured on Attic vases is further to be seen in many inscriptions such as the καλὸς εἶ on an amphora in Wuerzburg;[26] this vase has a scene from heroic legend, of Phoinix, Talthybios, Aias and Hektor, and the inscription is certainly, as Langlotz suggests, "kaum anders zu verstehen, denn als Begeisterung über die heroische Haltung der Beiden." Vases with "courting scenes" also lend themselves to the strengthening of this theory, as, for instance, an amphora[27] with a scene between a bearded man and an ephebe and the inscription, καλὸς εἶ, which the man is almost certainly speaking to the ephebe. The next step is to be found on a kylix in the Louvre,[28] on which the painter, the Eucharides-Painter, has written beside the hoplitodromos and the youth playing flutes, Ἀριστείδες εἶ σὺ κα[λός; here there is no reason for doubting that an identification between the person in the scene and the one named in the inscription was intentional. The case is the same with the Σώστρατος καλός εἰμι (see Sostratos kalos, Chapter IV) on another vase. Hence, there need be no reason for doubting that a *kalos* name was meant to identify a character, pictured in some favourite pastime, in the scene on a Greek vase, whether the portraiture is accurate in its attempt or not (see Langlotz sub Leagros kalos, Chapter IV).

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[26] Langlotz, *Gr. Vas. Wuerzburg*, no. 508.

[27] Philippart, *Colls. de Céramique Grecque en Italie*, II, p. 97, no. 2.

[28] G 136; Hoppin, *Handb. R. F.*, I, p. 358, no. 16. Cf. two cases of καλὸς εἶ on vases in the Metropolitan Museum, a calyx-krater of Epiktetos II (the Kleophrades Painter, about 490 B. C.) and an amphora dating about 480 B. C., where with reference to Apollo we have καλὸς εἶ, cf. Richter, *Red-Figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum*, pp. 34-37.

Strictly speaking, a discussion of love-names ought to include those only which are preceded or followed by the adjective, but, as a certain amount of laxity always existed in the use of the formula, of which we are aware because of the intermittent occurrences of two ways of writing the same name (now with, now without *kalos*),—all names, whether followed by *kalos* or not, excepting those of mythological, heroic, or artistic persons, are generally included in the lists. So, in scenes of a mythological or Bacchic nature, where the figures are identified by name or by attributes, *kalos* is clearly superficial to the requirements of the representation. Genre scenes, especially of the palaestra, are eminently suited to the use of the love-name. It is frequently found as an impersonal glorification in its common form, *ho pais kalos*. In other cases its mention is frequently divorced from any relation to the scene, and it is futile to attempt a connection between scene and inscription.

On the assumption that the ephebes called *kalos* could scarcely retain their good-looks for more than a decade, Hartwig summarized his conclusions as follows:[29]

1. All vases of a master with identical names belong to a definite period of about ten years during that master's activity.

2. All vases of different masters with similar names are approximately contemporary within ten years.

3. Appearance of two or more names on the same vase shows contemporaneity of the named persons (the most extreme difference in age being about a decade).

So it was, and still is, believed by many that all the names on vases are those of youths, and that all the vases with the name of a certain youth must have appeared within a ten year period; "so handelt es sich bei allen diesen Namen um . . . Jünglinge, deren Schönheitsblüte jeder Kenner des

[29] *Meisterschalen*, p. 8.

Südens auf allerhöchstens zehn Jahre taxiren wird." [30] But Studniczka [31] had doubted this, and believed that these inscriptions referred not only to attractive youths, but to worthy and popular men as well. Certainly throughout Greek literature it is not merely the ephebes who are called *kalos*. Langglotz (*Zeitbestimmung*, pp. 43 ff.) also has shown that occasionally older men are called *kalos*.

That the adjective *kalos* could be and was used for males at almost any stage of their lives, if they deserved it, we learn from Xenophon,[32] who has Kritoboulos say: Ἐπεὶ ὥσπερ γε παῖς γίγνεται καλὸς, οὕτω καὶ μειράκιον, καὶ ἀνὴρ, καὶ πρεσβύτης. Τεκμήριον δέ· θαλλοφόρους γὰρ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τοὺς καλοὺς γέροντας ἐκλέγονται. Earlier the same speaker says: μαίνονται δὲ καὶ οἱ μὴ τοὺς καλοὺς στρατηγοὺς αἱρούμενοι. Ἐγὼ οὖν μετὰ Κλεινίου κἂν διὰ πυρὸς ἰοίην. Likewise Protagoras calls the bearded, ripened Alkibiades [33] καλὸς ἀνήρ. *Kalos*, then, can also refer to mature men. Only when *ho pais* is added can we be sure what period of his life is meant, as a male over twenty years of age would scarcely be called a boy.[34]

Perrot and Chipiez [35] think that it may be a mistake to attribute too precise a meaning to this epithet, and indeed we know that in Athens it was also a sort of vague acclamation, as is clearly seen in two passages of Aristophanes,[36] where allusion is made to the custom of using the word at every occasion as a demonstration of respect and affection for

[30] Hauser, *Jahrb.*, X, 1895, p. 111. Miss Richter, *Red-Figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum*, p. xxx, note 32 says: "the frequent combination of the word παῖς with καλός on the vases would seem to indicate that the vase-painters as a rule had boys in mind." Miss Swindler, *Ancient Painting*, p. 177, calls them "débutants."

[31] *Jahrb.*, II, 1887, p. 160.

[32] *Symposion*, IV, 17.

[33] Plato, *Protag.* 1.

[34] Bluemner, *Privataltertümer*, p. 323.

[35] *Histoire de l'Art*, IX, p. 362.

[36] The Thracian chieftain in *Acharnians*, 144, is so attached to the Athenians that he writes on walls: Ἀθηναῖοι καλοί.

a person, an institution, or even a people.[37] A mosaic (c. 420 B. C.) from Olynthos[38] reads: Εὐτυχία καλή, which, interpreted as "Success is fair," is an instance of this glorification of abstractions. In the same room with this mosaic was found another, Ἀφροδίτη καλή, which may be taken to mean "Love is beautiful," or as referring to the Goddess herself, or even to a girl in the house named Aphrodite. In the Agora and Pnyx on every side was heard this word, when a person beloved by the populace appeared, when an orator whose opinions were shared finished speaking—like the French *vive*. But they also certainly refer to fair ephebes, who, after inspiring the liveliest feelings in the palaistra, later were held favourites for the elegance of their appearance and the perfections of their bodies; indeed they were much more popular than the most promiscuous courtesans at the time. Wherever there is opportunity and available material, it is a human impulse to scratch the name or initials of one's beloved (see Philokles kalos, no. 70, Chapter III) on a tree or wall or the like. Columns, shields, wash-basins, foot-stools, altars, chests, wine-skins and diskoi, as well as vases were made more precious by the presence of a beloved's name (cf. the distribution of *kalos* inscriptions among the furnishings in the scenes on Greek vases).

The paederastic nature of these inscriptions, shown by abundant literary references later, is also to be noted in the very character of many of the scenes accompanying the inscriptions, and, perhaps, by simple inference from analogy: as, when the inscriptions are in praise of a woman,

[37] Aristoph. *Knights*, 1341, where Agorakritos calls himself an ἐραστὴς of Demos. In *Wasps*, 98, Xanthias says that, if his master ever saw Δῆμος καλός, he changed it to κημὸς καλός. Cf. also καλῶς τῶι κυβιστητῶι ("bravo, tumbler") in *C. V. A., Bibl. Nat., Paris*, fasc. 2, III h e, pl. 88, 1-4.

[38] These are the only *kalos* names on mosaics. Cf. Robinson, *A. J. A.*, XXXVIII, 1934, pp. 503 ff., fig. 2. As suggested, *loc. cit.*, p. 505, n. 2, Ἀφροδίτη καλή may be the name for the best throw of dice, Lucian, *Erotes*, 16. Cf. also Sallustius, Περὶ Θεῶν, ch. 4 (Mullach, *F. Ph. G.*, 1881, III, p. 32): καλήν τε φανῆναι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην.

she is always known to have been an hetaira. While many of the *paides kaloi* of the vases are aristocratic, at the same time homoerotic habits are reflected in scenes of *erastes* and *eromenoi,* gifts of rabbits, cocks, and flowers (the usual love-tokens) passing between them, and many pictures of ephebes muffled in mysterious mantles as though awaiting an assignation or keeping some secret rendezvous. Both "Achilles" and "Ganymede" are to be found in these inscriptions: the aristocratic identifications of many of the names speak for the higher reputations of the "Achilles" of the lot, whereas, when there is a scene of "conversational" couples of males, it seems we may rightly suspect innuendos to Ganymede. Feminine inflections [39] given to the adjective with the name (cf. *kale* with Hippodamas kale; see Hippodamas, Euphiletos, and elsewhere in Chapter IV), and inscriptions themselves sometimes reveal a bit of the character of the *kalos,* especially those erotically phrased. The name Hermogenes on the Memnon cup by Douris, read by Duemmler [40] ἔν ἐμὲ κνε̄[ι] [ἐ] ῥίνε Ἑρμογένες καλός, if correctly interpreted, tells a good bit about the dark side of some of these inscriptions (cf. also Agathon kalos, Chapter IV). Duemmler writes at length about the erotic significance of κννννον on vases,[41] but Beazley [42] contests this. *Kalos* is, in its largest sense, a passionate approval of

[39] The inscription ἡ παῖς καλός (Graef-Langlotz, *Akrop. Vas.*, II, 2, no. 676) is on a vase with no painted scene, and seems to be deliberate, as there is small chance that a Greek would not have been familiar with the inflections of his own language. Cf. with this many inscriptions of the type of the καλή on a vase (*C. V. A., Oxford-Ashmolean,* fasc. 2, pl. 52, 5) with a scene of two youths only; and the καλέ καλά on another vase (*C. V. A., Musée Scheurleer,* fasc. 2, III I b and c, pl. 7, nos. 1, 2, and 3) with only ephebes in the scene. Unless in his illiteracy the artisan inscribing *HE* thought he was writing *HO,* or in writing *kale* pronounced it *kalos,* it is likely that here too, as in the *kale* with Hippodamas, Euphiletos, and Pithon in Chapter IV below, it must have been the intention of his perverse affections or the butt of his derision.

[40] *Berl. Phil. Woch.*, XI, 1891, col. 469; the vase is Louvre, G 115. Cf. Hoppin, *R. F.*, I, p. 244.

[41] *Kleine Schriften,* III, p. 359. [42] *J. H. S.*, LII, 1932, pp. 171-172.

life in all its moods and occupations, as can be seen from the favourite types of scenes on vases from the time of the *kalos* inscription. Philippart [43] mentions some of these favourite themes: "Nous voyons ici le bambin espiègle, le jeune garçon réservé, docile, ou vicieux; le palestrite agile et vigoureux, l'éphèbe noble d'allures et de sentiments ou entouré de compagnons pervers; l'homme mûr, sérieux ou sensuel; le bon vivant, le bavard, l'ivrogne, le débauché." In short, Attic vases show forth the unbounded joie-de-vivre of the time, so occupied with its youths, its physical culture, its emotional adventures, its banquets and revels, and excluding that only which is not MAN.

Beazley [44] notices that the group of a man and a boy "is a favourite in Attic black-figure from the second quarter of the sixth century onwards." To illustrate the varying degrees of intimacy he cites as "good examples" a lip-cup in Berlin, 1773 (the scene is of a bearded man embracing a youth, who has his own arms around the man); a fragment of a Little-Master cup in the Louvre, F 85; a cup in Athens (Licht, *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands, Ergänzungsband,* p. 208); a tripod at Yale, 122 (Baur, pl. 4); an amphora in Wuerzburg (Langlotz, *op. cit.,* 1932, no. 241, pls. 64 and 65), dating c. 530 B. C. The scenes on both sides of this last vase are practically identical: a man, bearded and naked and with a red tainia over his arm, touches a naked boy in the customary fashion for courting (on the chin and genitals); the boy was originally intended to retaliate with the also customary gesture of defense, for his right arm is ready to turn away the man's advances on his chin—but then the painter put a spear in his hand, and so (on plate 65 at any rate) he seems completely submissive to the man's overtures. The gesture for courting, seen commonly on vases at this time, recalls the epigram (*Anth. Pal.,* X, 20):

> Ἤν τινα καλὸν ἴδῃς, εὐθὺς τὸ πρῆγμα κροτείσθω.
> βάζ' ἃ φρονεῖς. ὄρχεων δράσσεο χερσὶν ὅλαις.

[43] *Colls. de Cer. Gr. en Italie,* tome II, 1933, p. 134.
[44] *J. H. S.,* XLIX, 1929, p. 260.

In red-figured ware, though here the group is not so common, an excellent example is the kylix by Peithinos in Berlin.[45] The scenes on the exterior suggest the double nature of love, expounded in Plato's *Symposion,* 191, 192: on the one side there are three couples of youths and maidens conducting themselves in mixed company; on the other there are four couples of homoerotics, youths courting boys and offering them gifts, and in addition to these party-groups, there is an odd, unattached man looking wistfully on. Hartwig[46] says: "Durch die Gegenüberstellung dieser verschiedenen Arten des Eros erhält die Darstellung der Aussenseite der Schale geradezu den Charakter einer epigrammatischen Antithese (*Anth. Pal.,* XII, 17 and 86). Ein eigenartiges, man möchte sagen culturelles Interesse bietet die Figur des einsam bei Seite stehenden Liebhabers neben den Gruppen der Jünglinge und Knaben. Dieser später häufig wiederholte δύσερως ἀνήρ erscheint als die erste sentimentale Figur der griechischen Vasenmalerei und erinnert uns daran, dass Werke, wie unsere Schale, zu einer Zeit entstanden sind, wo die Lieder der grossen griechischen Lyriker im Bewusstsein des hellenischen Volkes lebendig waren." Furtwaengler[47] calls it a balance between the "Eros Parthenios" and "Eros Paidikos," and says that Peithinos leaves little doubt which of the two he himself prefers; the former he has represented respectably but insipidly, the latter in lively colors! The inscriptions read simply: ὁ παῖς ναίχι καλὸς καλός. See plate I, 1.

Hieron and Makron repeat *ad infinitum* the "conversational" formula. A few illustrations (Hoppin, *Handb. R. F.,* II) are: men and youths giving boys rabbits, wreaths, et cetera (p. 64, 16) on a kylix in Munich; man with a hare on a leash hands a flower to a youth (p. 71, 20), Louvre; bearded man handing a flower to a seated youth and three pairs of erasts giving rabbits to their eromenoi (p. 72, 21);

[45] No. 2279; illustrated by Hartwig, *Meisterschalen,* pls. XXIV, 1, and XXV; Hoppin, *Handb. R. F.,* II, p. 335; Neugebauer, *Führer durch das Antiquarium,* II, Berlin, p. 86.

[46] *Op. cit.,* p. 239.

[47] F. R., Series III, p. 21.

etc. It is worth noting that all these scenes are preliminary overtures to an end not depicted, and that on vases with scenes of ultimate obscenity the subjects are practically exclusively heterosexual. Hartwig,[48] in describing certain scenes of sexual obscenity between men and women, says: "It is remarkable that even in these scenes the *ho pais kalos* is not missing from the field; only one of these cups shows remains of a *kale*." And this "higher love" of Plato, he believes, found its way even to the Parthenon (Brit. Mus., *Sculptures of the Parthenon*, pl. 37, VI, 43-46), on the east frieze of which he[49] sees "what is probably to be understood as a group of erasts and an eromenos."

The contrast between the two opposing ideal-images of masculine beauty in Greek art of the period is most patent in a comparison of the type of the Triptolemos on the Eleusinian relief with that on a hydria in Munich.[50] On the relief he is a boy, still immature and lean of limb, but the vase-painter shows us a luxurious creature with long hair and ornamental, feminine garments—this latter anyone, not cognizant of the myth, would easily take for a woman. These contrasting conceptions refute each other not only in these two works, but almost everywhere in this period:[51] the youth pleases some because he is, as they think, almost as lovely as a maiden; others he pleases because he is represented, as on the relief, to be what he is, a boy, and so something entirely different from a woman.

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[48] *Meisterschalen*, p. 348.

[49] Hartwig, *op. cit.*, p. 238, note.

[50] F. R., II, p. 233.

[51] Cf. the athletic types in fifth century sculpture with the fancy ephebes on the Peithinos kylix in Berlin (cf. note 45 above) and on other vases with scenes of "couples in procession."

CHAPTER II

THE LOVE-NAMES IN GREEK LITERATURE

Suidas defines *kalos* by drawing a neat distinction between it and the *agathos* of the compound expression, which was the ultimate praise of a popular Athenian, "καλὸς κἀγαθός": τὸ μὲν καλὸς ἐπὶ τῆς ἐν σώματι ὥρας, τὸ δὲ ἀγαθὸς ἐπὶ τῆς ἐν ψυχῇ.

The Lexicon to Xenophon says, sub καλὸς κἀγαθός: "'ἀγαθός' ad animi virtutem et probitatem pertineat, 'καλός' autem ad actiones externas, etiam ad generis nobilitatem, diuitias, valetudinem, et alia talia referatur." Generally τὸ καλόν is *pulchritudo corporis,* but, as in Xenophon, *Sym.,* VIII, 17, τὰ τοῦ παιδὸς καλά, its plural, means "animi virtutes." Xenophon, *Sym.,* VIII, 11, καλῷ τε ἀγαθῷ ἐραστῇ, is the highest type of lover, "qui non corpus amat." Ἐμπνεῖν τι ἡμᾶς τοὺς καλοὺς τοῖς ἐρωτικοῖς (Xenophon, *Sym.,* IV, 15) shows again that it was no abstract emotion that beauty inspired in a Greek.

Ast's *Lexicon Platonicum* gives numerous references to the usages of *kalos* in Plato. In the *Charmides,* 153 ff. we have a radiant picture of attractive boys (also Xen., *Sym.,* I, 8 ff.). In *Charmides* 154 A Kritias tells Sokrates of the "new beauties," περὶ τῶν καλῶν. *Protagoras* 315 d qualifies a youth as "fair and good by nature": μειράκιον . . . καλόν τε κἀγαθὸν τὴν φύσιν. On the other hand, *Euthydemos* 271 b finds another youth "fair and good in appearance," καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς τὴν ὄψιν. As in *Protagoras* 309 A, καλὸς μὲν ἐφαίνετο ἀνὴρ ἔτι, the general sense of *kalos* seems to be one made through the physical senses: "He was still a handsome man (in spite of his years)." In the same dialogue, 319 C, a certain one is lucky in being thrice blessed, "with striking good-looks, with wealth and with a lineage": κἂν πάνυ καλὸς ᾖ καὶ πλούσιος καὶ τῶν γενναίων. The *Timaios* 88 C, ἅμα μὲν καλός, ἅμα δὲ ἀγαθός, shows that these two laudatory adjectives are never synonymous, and so, in *Euthydemos,* 289 B, "ὦ

καλὲ παῖ" is an address of love, stirred by personal beauty. Unless *kalos,* then, is qualified by some abstract virtue, its meaning and appeal to the Greek was physical. And of τοὺς καλοὺς παῖδάς τε καὶ νεανίσκους (*Sym.,* 211 D) Plato further says ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἀνδρωθῶσι, παιδεραστοῦσι (*id.,* 192 A).

Pindar, too, finds *kalos* an attribute appreciable to the senses, as in *Olympian,* VIII, 19, ἦν δ' ἐσορᾶν καλός. It is further synonymous with ὡραῖος (*Olym.,* IX, 94): ὡραῖος ἐὼν καὶ καλός. When it is ethical, he qualifies it (*Nem.,* III, 19): ἐὼν καλὸς ἔρδων τ' ἐοικότα μορφᾷ. In *Pyth.,* IV, 123 Jason is κάλλιστος ἀνδρῶν.

Sappho (fragment 101 Bergk) defines morally the component parts of the expression, καλὸς κἀγαθός:

> ὁ μὲν γὰρ κάλος, ὅσσον ἴδην, πέλεται [ἄγαθος]:
> ὁ δὲ κἄγαθος αὔτικα καὶ κάλος ἔσσεται.

This makes the good-looking only "good" as far as their looks go; that is to say, "Beauty is only skin-deep," but the noble and good man is fair and beautiful. According to an epigram of Solon (Hudson-Williams, *Early Greek Elegy,* p. 64, no. 13, ll. 39-40) both beauty and virtue can be at times only "seeming":

> ἄλλος δειλὸς ἐὼν ἀγαθὸς δοκεῖ ἔμμεναι ἀνήρ,
> καὶ καλός, μορφὴν οὐ χαρίεσσαν ἔχων.

One is reminded of Goldsmith's: "Handsome is as handsome does."

Perhaps it is not too much to say that of the *kalokagathia,* so stressed by writers of high moral sense, only the *kalos* element was directly felt by the majority of the ancient Greeks, as it is that element that most impressed itself on the poets (especially the lyric) and on the laymen (e. g. the vase-painters). Aristophanes[1] sees *kalokagathia* as something which anyone can acquire; in this passage the uncultured sausage dealer, Agorakritos, aspires to win his way to this social discrimination, not his by birth or desert. Xeno-

[1] *Knights,* 185.

phon [2] finds the *kalokagathia* only in deeds *ἐφ' οἷς εὐδοκιμεῖ καλὸς κἀγαθὸς ἀνήρ*. Gerlach [3] concludes that *agathos* up to the end of the fifth century represents no inner moral quality of the individual, but that it is exclusively a judgment of the outer world.

That the *kalos* element lent itself to the erotic emotions of the Greeks there is proof abundant. Suidas ends his definition with this: *καὶ καλὸς ὁ ἐρώμενος. καὶ ἦν τῷ μὲν ἐραστῇ Μέλητος ὄνομα, τῷ καλῷ δὲ Τιμαγόρας* (see Meletos in Chapter IV). We have *kalos* equal to *eromenos,* and *erastes* complementing it. He further says: [4] *οὐχὶ δὲ μόνον οἱ ἐρώμενοι καλοῦνται τούτῳ τῷ ὀνόματι, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντες οἱ σπουδαζόμενοι πάνυ κατὰ μεταφορὰν τὴν ἀπ' ἐκείνων.*

Further confirmation comes from Plato,[5] who says: *ὅτι ταύτης μετέχων τῆς μανίας ὁ ἐρῶν τῶν καλῶν ἐραστὴς καλεῖται.* And, when in the *Symposion,* 178 E, he speaks of his *στρατόπεδον ἐραστῶν τε καὶ παιδικῶν,* we are to take *paidika* as synonymous with *kalos*; so in *Politeia,* III, 403 B, *οὐδὲ κοινωνητέον αὐτῆς* (*τῆς ἡδονῆς*) *ἐραστῇ τε καὶ παιδικοῖς ὀρθῶς ἐρῶσί τε καὶ ἐρωμένοις, . . . ἅπτεσθαι ὥσπερ υἱέος παιδικῶν ἐραστήν.*

Of *paidika,* "amor puerorum impurus," Suidas says: *ἐπὶ θηλειῶν καὶ ἀρρένων ἐρωμένων τάττεται ἡ λέξις. καὶ Κρατῖνος "Πανόπταις": "μισεῖς γὰρ τὰς γυναῖκας, πρὸς παιδικὰ δὲ τρέπει νῦν."* Again, Xenophon [6] contrasts: *ἢ γυναῖκας . . . ἢ παιδικὰ . . . φιλεῖν.* The same author [7] says: *τοῦ διαλέγεσθαι τοὺς ἐραστὰς εἴργουσιν ἀπὸ τῶν παίδων,* and *μηδὲν ἧττον ἐραστὰς παιδικῶν ἀπέχεσθαι.* In sum, then, Xenophon's *τὰ ἑαυτοῦ παιδικά, νεανίσκον ὄντα καλόν,*[8] can be taken as the meaning and interpretation of the phenomenon of *kalos ho pais* on so many Attic vases.

Apropos of the reason for which such an emotional outburst should have appeared at all in so public a way, Suidas again is enlightening (*s. v. kaloi*—Aristophanes): *Ἐν τοῖσι τοίχοις*

[2] *Sym.,* VIII, 3.
[3] *Ἀνὴρ Ἀγαθός,* Dissertation, Munich, 1932, p. 50.
[4] Cf. Suidas, *s. v. παιδικός.*
[5] *Phaidros,* 249 E.
[6] *Kyroupaideia,* VII, 5, 60.
[7] *Reip. Laced.,* II, 12-13.
[8] *Hellenika,* VI, 4, 37.

ἔγραφον: "Ἀθηναῖοι καλοί." Ἴδιον ἐραστῶν ἦν τὸ τὰ τῶν ἐρωμένων ὀνόματα γράφειν ἐν τοῖς τοίχοις ἢ δένδροις ἢ φύλλοις δένδρων, οὕτως· ὁ δεῖνα καλός . . . (He might have added "and on vases"!)

Eustathius on *Il.* VI, 169 (633) says practically the same: Χρήσιμον δὲ εἰς τὸν παρόντα τόπον καὶ τὸ παλαιὸν ἔθος, καθ' ὃ δένδροις ὅσα καὶ πίναξιν ἐνεκόλαπτον οἱ παλαιοὶ τὰ τῶν φιλουμένων ὀνόματα, ὡς εἴπερ ἔρωτες ἢ νύμφαι ὀρειναὶ τοῦτο ἐποίουν . . .

Having seen how in the very heart of Hellenic paederasty stands the word *kalos,* we can follow its path through mythology [9] and the heroic age, its development through Crete, Thera, and the lyric poets, right down to an Attic vase. Noticing the varying conditions of boyhood in Athens, we shall see the changes in character and tone, the late fifth century decadence, and the falling away of the vase inscriptions (*ho pais kalos*) for that very good reason, the distress of the Peloponnesian War, the advent of a heterosexual norm, etc.

Wherever the idea of paederasty came from before it reached Athens, certain it is that the Homeric Greeks knew it traditionally and entertained it, in spite of Becker's theories to the contrary.[10] After Patroklos' death Antilochos took his

[9] For boy-love in Greek mythology cf. the dissertation by Rudolph Beyer, *Fabulae Graecae quatenus quave aetate puerorum amore commutatae sint,* Leipzig, 1910. Hyginos, Athenaios and others collected catalogues of pretty boys from the earliest stages of Greek myth and saga. The Pseudo-St. Clemens I (*Homilies,* V, 15; cf. also Clement of Alexandria, *Protr.* C. II) says: "Zeus loved Ganymede; Poseidon loved Pelops; Apollo loved Kinyras, Zakynthos, Hyakinthos, Phorbas, Hylas, Admetos, Kyparissos, Amyklas, Troilos, Branchos, Atymnios, Paros, Potnieus and Orpheus; Dionysos loved Adonis, Ampelos, Hymenaios, Hermaphroditos, Achilles; Asklepios loved Hippolytos; Hephaistos loved Peleus; Pan loved Daphnis; Hermes loved Perseus, Chryses, Therses, and Odryses; Herakles loved Abderos, Dryops, Iokastos, Philoktetes, Hylas, Polyphemos, Haimon, Diomos, and Peirithoos." Even from this catalogue, which contains only a few of the names of the god-lovers, the astonishing crowd of paidophilic motives in Greek myth can easily be conjectured. Apollo and Herakles, the hero, both Dorian favourites, have the longest list of beloveds, a fact that indicates the prevalence of paiderastic sentiments among the Dorians.

[10] *Charikles,* II, "Die Knabenliebe," pp. 199-230 (Leipzig, 1854).

place by Achilles' side, because Homer could not represent his hero without a beloved; we learn this from the *Odyssey*, XXIV, 78 ff., and further that the three were buried in a common grave. Whether Homer founded the relation between Achilles and Patroklos on sensuality for personal reasons only, there are other reasons for believing that paederasty was not unknown to Homer's people;[11] e. g., Agamemnon offers Achilles, after their quarrel has been settled, several noble youths. As Telemachos travels about for news of his father, it is mentioned quite casually that his host one night, Nestor, gave the son of Odysseus his only unmarried son, Peisistratos, for a bed-fellow and companion; this was part of the hospitality due to a guest.[12]

The historical Greeks were sometimes concerned as to the provenance of paederasty. Did this inclination develop independently in the Greek people, or is the phenomenon to be shared with their neighbors? Herodotos[13] says of the Persians: *καὶ δὴ καὶ ἀπ' Ἑλλήνων μαθόντες παισὶ μίσγονται*; that would lead us to seek the origin among the Greeks themselves, rather than among any of their neighbors who might have influenced them. Plutarch[14] states the contrary, and tries to show that the eunuchs of the Persians were acquainted with the perversion indigenously, but Plato[15] makes Pausanias say that both paederasty and gymnasia were in disfavour with the Oriental monarchs because of such resultants as the Harmodios and Aristogeiton conspiracy. Becker believes that there is not a trace of sensuality in the relations between the heroes of Homer, and that the emotional state of the later Greeks led their authors after Aischylos (see his *Myridons*), as we know from Athenaeus, XIII, 75, to falsify the material at hand in the interests of their own desires. He even believes that the myth of Ganymede has not the slightest suggestion of sensuality in Homer,[16] but that this interpretation was

[11] Cf. *Odyssey*, III, 109 ff.; XI, 467 ff.; XXIV, 15 ff.
[12] *Odyssey*, III, 400; IV, 303; XV, 4 ff.
[13] I, 135.
[14] *De Her. Malig.* 13.
[15] *Sym.*, 182.
[16] *Iliad*, XX, 235.

entertained after Pindar's tenth Olympian ode, line 105. Plato [17] does say that the Cretans admit that they follow the conduct of Zeus' example in cultivating boy-love, and this might argue that they turned the myth to suit their own proclivities. It is certainly true that in spite of what Becker thinks to be the innocent silence of the Homeric poems on this subject, the earliest appearance of the emotion among the Greeks goes as far back into their mythology, e. g., the Laios legend (Suidas *s. v. Thamyris*); though for this myth again our modern extant sources do not antedate Euripides' *Chrysippos*. According to Timaios [18] the Cretans handed down the custom to the Greeks. Plutarch [19] surely knew that the Cretan *harpagmos* was no chaste custom; "und er zieht, gewiss mit Rücksicht auf Sokrates und Plato, selbst die attische vor, wo doch in der That im Allgemeinen solche Liebe nicht als ein Tugendbund erscheint." [20] The general opinion now is that in the older and better days of the Cretan state the tendency of this practice was pure and chaste, but that by the time it was mentioned in the Platonic restatement of the laws governing it, it had already sunk to physical excess.[21]

As for the erotics of Crete, what Hesychios' gloss (*κλεινοί*: *οἱ εἰς τὰ παιδικὰ ἐπὶ κάλλει ἁρπαζόμενοι παῖδες*) tells us does not come from Ephoros, the authority, who interprets *kalos* (i. e., paederasty): *ἐράσμιον δὲ νομίζουσιν οὐ τὸν κάλλει διαφέροντα ἀλλὰ τὸν ἀνδρείᾳ* [22] *καὶ κοσμιότητι.* Athenaeus (XI, 782 C) says: *σπουδὴ δὲ αὐτοῖς παῖδας ἁρπάζειν. καὶ τοῖς καλοῖς παρ' αὐτοῖς ἄδοξόν ἐστιν ἐραστοῦ μὴ τυχεῖν.*

Ephoros [23] tells us about the Cretan *harpagmos*, or "rape" of boys by their lovers. That it was semi-official is clear. "If the man is the equal of the boy or superior to him, people follow and resist the rape only enough to satisfy the law, but are really glad to let him be carried off by one so noble."

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[17] *Laws*, I, 636.

[18] Athenaeus, XIII, 602 f.

[19] *Educ. Puer.* 15.

[20] Becker, *op. cit.*, pp. 204-205.

[21] Hoeck, *Kreta*, III, pp. 106 ff.

[22] Cf. "Mikion kalos," Chapter IV, no. 176, p. 152.

[23] Mueller, F. H. G. I, p. 251.

The law here, in addition to preventing mis-alliances, specified what gifts were to be given the boy by his abductor; among others, a military habit, an ox, and a drinking cup, and things so numerous and costly that the friends of the erastes made contributions thereto. Athenaeus (502 B) also tells us that among the people of Gortyna it was customary for a lover to give to the boy whom he had carried off a cup similar to a Thericlean one but called a "chonnos." Abducted boys were called *παρασταθέντες*, those chosen as "stand-bys" by lovers. In dances and races they had places of highest honour. The boy was called *κλεινός*, his abductor *φιλήτωρ*. This was in the earlier state of Crete, as in the later laws of Gortyna, which Carpenter [24] says need not antedate the fifth century, the *harpagmos* was punishable by fines, determined according to whether the attacker or the assaulted was free or a slave.[25]

Among the Etruscans too Athenaeus (XII, 517 F) says that they enjoy *ὁτὲ δὲ παῖδας πάνυ καλούς*. Later (XII, 518 A) he says that, in preference to consorting with women, *πολὺ μέντοι γε μᾶλλον χαίρουσι συνόντες τοῖς παισὶ καὶ τοῖς μειρακίοις. καὶ γὰρ γίνονται παρ' αὐτοῖς πάνυ καλοὶ τὰς ὄψεις, ἅτε τρυφερῶς διαιτώμενοι καὶ λεαινόμενοι τὰ σώματα.*

The erotic of Crete was substantially the same as that of Sparta. For the Spartan the most appropriate place for study is the island of Thera, a Dorian colony, on which the rock-cut inscriptions bear a close resemblance to the *ho pais kalos* of Attic vases. These rock inscriptions were formerly dated as early as the geometric era,[26] but Professor Rhys Carpenter's recently published conclusions [27] would place them as late as the middle of the sixth century B. C. This is in astonishing agreement with the chronology of the *kalos* name in Athens, a synonymous and therefore logically contemporary

[24] *A. J. A., XXXVII*, 1933, p. 26.

[25] Köhler-Ziebarth, *Stadtrecht von Gortyn*, II, 5, and pp. 77-78.

[26] Hiller von Gaertringen, *Thera*, III, p. 67.

[27] *A. J. A.*, XXXVII, 1933, p. 26; Ullman in *Classical Studies Presented to Edward Capps*, p. 341, however, thinks that the early writing of Thera might well go back to the ninth or even the tenth century B. C.

phenomenon. The *kalos* name, a product of the sixth century emotional ecstasy in Athens, has the same significance as in these Theran inscriptions, cut in the rock not seventy meters from the temple of Apollo Karneios and in the vicinity of the later gymnasium of the island. For the most part the inscriptions consist of a proper name and the Doric adjective *agathos*[28] but in one of them (*I. G.*, XII, 3, 549) we have -ς ἠμὶ πᾶσ[ι] καλός, an occurrence of the usual Attic lover's cliché, which suggests that it has the same force as the more usual Doric *agathos* on the island. The Dorians stressed ἀρετή, the Ionians κάλλος. But here, as in Attika, there is obvious proof that both imply eroticism. Here five times the word οἴφειν appears; e. g., *I. G.*, XII, 3, 537, where Delphinios is called to witness that "here Krimon lay with the son of Bathykles." Not only is praise of the best dancer among the boys found (*I. G.*, XII, 3, 546)—for this compare the Spartan *gymnopaidia* to Apollo[29]—"sondern auch direkte Zeugnisse für die Knabenliebe in der grobsinnlichsten Form . . . sie zeigen uns die Roheit der dorischen Einwanderer."[30] On some of the later inscriptions there is no mistaking their significance; e. g. *I. G.*, XII, 3, 536, calls Enpylos a πόρνος, and another, dating from the third century A. D., says Δημήτριος κίναιδος.[31] About the character of the inscriptions Licht[32] says: "In unmittelbarer Nähe des Apollotempels auf dem heiligen Berge unter feierlichem Zeremoniell nach vorausgegangenem festlichen Reigentanze der Knaben fand der Vermählungsakt statt und wurde dem Gedächtnis der Späteren

[28] *I. G.*, XII, 3, 540, 544, 545, etc.

[29] Strabo, X, 483-484; Athen. XI, 782 c; Diels, *Hermes*, XXXI, 1896, pp. 353 ff.

[30] Thera, III, p. 68.

[31] Cf. *Epigraphische Nachtraege* zu Graef-Langlotz, *Die Vasen von der Akropolis*, Band II, Heft 3, p. 130, for another "Enpylos" from Attika. On the significance of the word *kinaidos* the epigram (*Anth.*, XI, 272) is explicit: ἀνέρες εἰσὶ γυναιξί, καὶ ἀνδράσιν εἰσὶ γυναῖκες. Cf. Suetonius (I, 52) on Caesar, whom Curio called, "omnium mulierum virum et omnium virorum mulierem."

[32] *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands, Ergaenzungsband*, p. 206.

durch die unverwüstliche Stimme der Steine aufbewahrt just dort, wo man das Gymnasium der Epheben erbaute und wo die Knaben und Jünglinge, die sich im Gymnasium durch ungezählte niedliche Schmierereien verewigten, tagtäglich es lasen und lesen mussten." The god was witness to all the notices of boy-love on that spot, and so it was sanctioned by the Dorian religious notions. Man and youth joined themselves together in a serious, sacred, and not dishonourable bond under the god's observation, so that the man's ἀρετή might be transferred to his young charge, his κλεινός.

A noteworthy similarity appears in the beginnings of epigraphy in Thera and in Athens as we compare one of the island inscriptions,[33]

Βάρβακς ὀρκhειῖταί τε ἀγαθῶ̃[ς]
ἐ[δ]ίδο[υ] [τε π]ο[τ]α[ν]ῆ,

a verse on an Attic Dipylon vase,[34] which some read:

ὃς νῦν ὀρχηστῶν πάντων
ἀταλώτατα παίζει, τοῦτον ἐκαύμην

("for him I burned with love"), and Theognis 1329:

Σοί τε διδοῦν ἔτι καλόν, ἐμοί τ' οὐκ αἰσχρόν ἐρῶντι
αἰτεῖν. ἀλλὰ γονέων λίσσομαι ἠμετέρων.
αἰδέο μ', ὦ παῖ καλέ, διδοὺς χάριν.

The contemporaneity of the Thera inscriptions with the first appearance of the *kalos*-name on Attic vases might also be suggested by the fact that the very character of the scenes on Attic pottery of the time is in perfect accord with what we have seen to be the essentially physical significance of the island inscriptions: as, before the tone of the vase-scenes had been

[33] *I. G.*, XII, 3, 543.

[34] *Ath. Mitt.*, VI, 1881, pp. 106 ff.; XVIII, 1893, pp. 225-230. Carpenter, *loc. cit.*, p. 25, dates it c. 675 B. C. Cf. *Klio*, XVII, 1921, pp. 262 f., 267; *Arch. Anz.*, XXXVI, 1921, p. 343; *Musée Belge*, XXVII, 1923, p. 308; I. G. I², 919; Kirchner, *Imagines Inscriptionum Atticarum*, p. 9, no. 1, pl. 1 (eighth cent. B. C.).

subdued down into the polite, non-committal "conversational" groups of men and boys, prevalent in the fifth century, that same sentiment had first been expressed in the actual paederastic symplegmata so common on vases in the first decades after the middle of the sixth century and so hinted at on Thera's rocks at the same time.[35]

In Athens itself paederasty had become so deeply absorbed into society by Solon's time and was so ubiquitously recognized and felt as an honourable institution that he, almost the prototype of old Athens' moral code, depicted it clearly as an obvious pleasure of youth in the following distych (frg. 25):

ἔσθ' ἥβης ἐρατοῖσιν ἐπ' ἄνθεσι παιδοφιλήσῃ
μηρῶν ἱμείρων καὶ γλυκεροῦ στόματος.

"Er behielt sie durch seine Gesetzgebung ebenso wie die Gymnastik dem freien Manne vor, verbot sie dem Sklaven. Und so blieb es in Athen bis in die zweite Hälfte des fünften Jahrhunderts. Die Vasen jener Zeiten mit den Lieblingsaufschriften illustriren am besten."[36] The legal regulations of the institution made by Solon prove that boy-love was by that time something very customary for an Athenian. In fact, he himself fell in love with his cousin, the young Peisistratos (Plutarch, *Solon,* 1). According to them a slave could not traffic with a free-born; a young man could not sell his charms for money. But a way out of any difficulties was let in the *πρόφασις φιλίας*, by which anything mutually agreeable was excusable. The laws, fallen into desuetude by the time of Aischines, are found in that orator's speech, *Against Timarchos* (10-12). That the laws also contained regulations for the gymnasia and their hours of closing, is a confirmation of the belief that it was due to them that boy-love was such a common thing among the ancients. Undoubtedly the cause was the taking over of the gymnastic institution from the

[35] Graef-Langlotz, *Die Antiken Vasen von der Akropolis,* frag. 2242, text.

[36] "Die Dorische Knabenliebe," *Rheinisches Museum,* LXII, 1907, p. 441.

Cretans [37] and the frequency of the sight of nude men.[38] That the gymnasia fed the flame of boy-love is mentioned even by ancient writers; e. g. Cicero: [39] "quis est enim iste amor amicitiae? Cur neque deformem adulescentem quisquam amat neque formosum senem? Mihi quidem haec in Graecorum gymnasiis nata consuetudo videtur, in quibus isti liberi et concessi sunt amores. Bene ergo Ennius: 'Flagiti principium est nudare inter civis corpora.'" The stern Romans, who valued such exercises merely for their military and diaetetic advantages, judged unfavourably of Greek gymnastics. Plutarch [40] says: "For the Romans have a great prejudice against dry unction; and they are of the opinion that nothing hath been so great a cause to the Grecians of slavery and effeminacy (μαλακίας) as their fencing and wrestling schools, insinuating so much debauchery and idleness into the citizens, vicious sloth and paederasty; they destroyed the very bodies of youths with sleeping, perambulations, dancing, and delicious feeding, whereby they insensibly fell from the use of arms, and instead of being good soldiers and horsemen, loved to be called agile, good wrestlers, and pretty men (καλοί)."

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[37] Plato, *Rep.*, V, 452.

[38] Which Plato (*loc. cit.*) says only a short time ago was as shameful and ridiculous to the Greeks as it still was to the barbarians in his day; he says that the Dorian Spartans were the second after the Cretans to develop this institution.

[39] *Tusc.*, IV, 33.

[40] *Quaest. Rom.*, 40.

VITA

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